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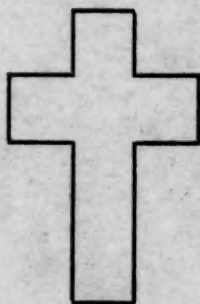
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HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH *in the*

U.S.A.



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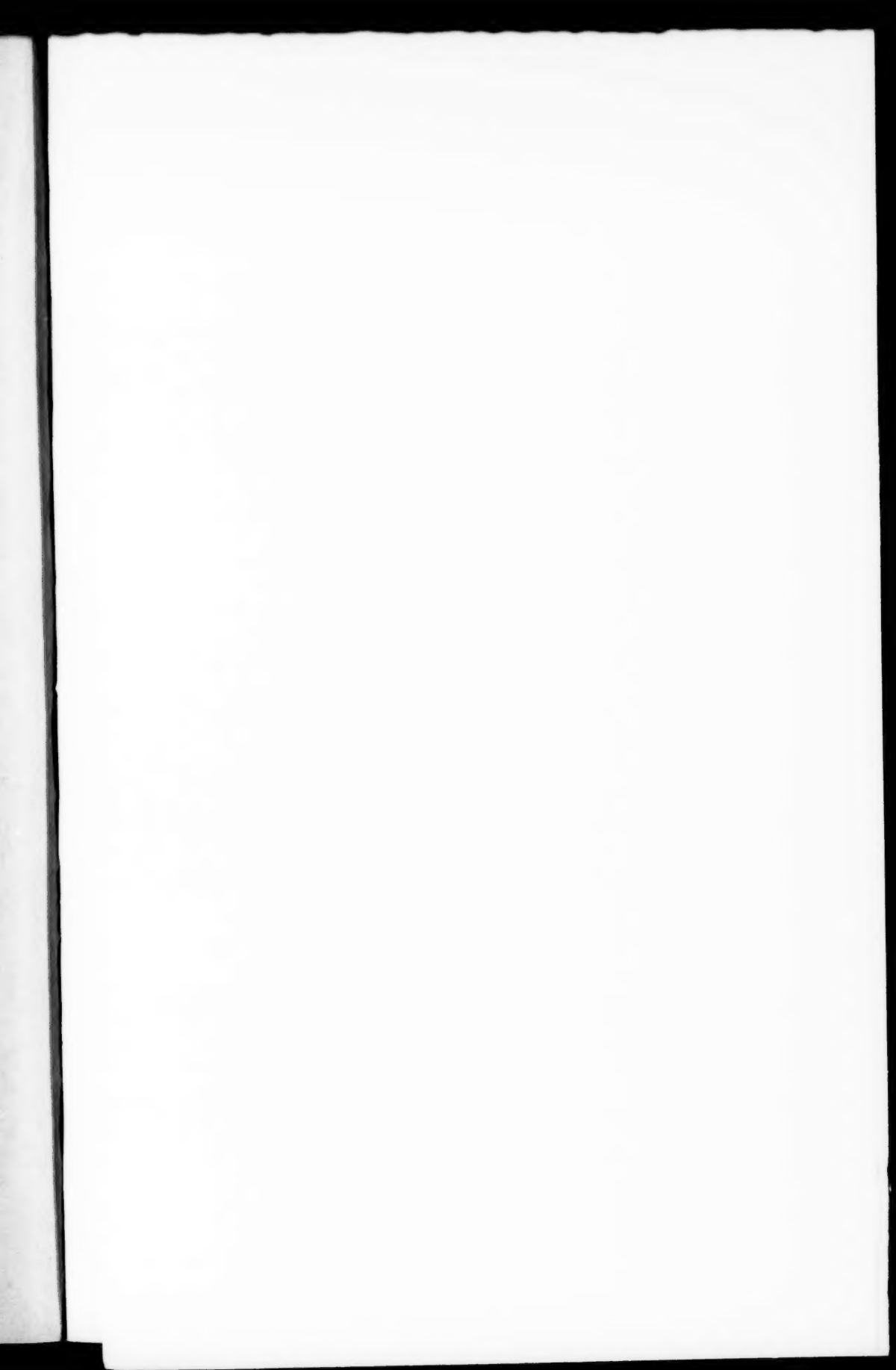
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NOTICES

All communications, including manuscripts and books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Garrison, N. Y.

The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.





Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Volume I

DECEMBER, 1932

No. 4

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The present issue brings to a close the first year of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The editors are very grateful for its kindly reception by individuals and by the press, especially our own Church Papers. Many suggestions of value have been made concerning the future. The promoters are well aware that of necessity its appeal is to a limited number of Church people. But the hope is cherished that the material which for the first time has been made available in these pages will be a help to the larger understanding of the life of this Church. It is good to look at the pit from which we have been dug and the rock from which we have been hewn. It may be of interest to note that quite recently an application for copies of the MAGAZINE was received from the leading bookseller of Milan, Italy.

There are many indications of revived interest in the study of the History of the Christian Church and of the American Church in particular. In the General Theological Seminary Professor Gavin has a post-graduate group of men who are taking Church History quite seriously. In this course great stress is laid upon the importance of both primary and secondary sources and in this way the men are getting valuable training in the true methods of historical research. Already there is keen rivalry among the men to discover unworked historical periods and some excellent papers have been presented.

The editors look forward to the second year with genuine hope. It must be frankly stated that the *MAGAZINE* is not yet out of the woods financially. We have been compelled to draw to some extent on the guarantee fund. Two things are needed to put the enterprise on a firm footing. We need revenue from advertising. We need also additional yearly subscriptions. There will be some inevitable loss in renewals. That loss will have to be made up, and new subscribers obtained. An additional fifty subscriptions would enable us to meet all costs of publication. We could clear all expenses if we had an average of six subscribers from each of the dioceses of the Church. Inasmuch as the editors, the treasurer and the contributors of articles receive no compensation whatever, they feel they can properly appeal to the clergy and laity to become subscribers to the *MAGAZINE*. We therefore ask that you will promptly renew your subscription and do whatever is possible to aid us in enlarging the number of regular readers.

Attention is drawn to the notice concerning the binding of the first year's volume to which will be added an index. In the course of the years such a publication as this, whatever its tenure, is apt to become quite valuable and sought after by collectors. The two volumes of the *Collections of the Church Historical Society*, published in the Fifties, are now very difficult to obtain at any cost. This is a word to the wise.

LETTERS OF THE REVEREND DOCTOR JEREMIAH
LEAMING TO THE REVEREND DOCTOR SAM-
UEL PETERS, LOYALIST REFUGEE IN
LONDON, AND ONE TIME BISHOP
ELECT OF VERMONT. LH

(Continued from page 142.)

The Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
June 19 1787
recd Sep 29
Answ^d Oct 6
& 12.

Stratford June 19. 1787.

My dear friend.

Birdseyes letter May 25. 1787.

I have rec^d Your favor of March the 28th, in which you inform me You are become a Grandfather: and that you wrote that Letter out of Spite, and abuse me Sufficiently for not sending Bp Seaburys Second Charge. I suppose Brother Hub^{d1} was so much engaged to send them to You, that he forgot to send any to me: and You had no reason to blame me for not sending to You, when I had none for myself.

I see in the London papers, at Lambeth they talk of a Bp for Nova Scotia, but cannot find a proper person for it. Why is it, that you do not step forward and point out one for them, for You know what man will answer, in that province, Since Doc^r C-r² has dropt the thot of a Mitre.

Before I rec^d your Letter, I sent a Letter, with a number

¹Rev. Dr. Bela Hubbard.

²Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler. Dr. Chandler was then in London and declined the Bishopric of Nova Scotia eventually returning to his former parish at Elizabeth New Jersey.

of pamphlets to Mr Rivington at N York to be forwarded to you, without Expen^ce. had I rec^d yours first, I would have sent it in a way to make you pay postage. However all quar-
riling aside. I must inform you, that when I rec^d your Letter to Tyler, I read it; and there was many things confuted, which I supposed Tyler had not advanced. For I had not heard him say a word on the subject: and supposed them too puerile to be offered by a man of Sense, such as he was. but since that, I have heard him talk much upon the Subject; and then it put me upon taking another View of your Letter to Tyler: and must say, it is a compleat Confutation of all his childish Nonsense. And I thank you for doing Justice to the Truth.

I really are more desirous to see You than any one else, tho you have abused me so much, for supposing other men, meant as honestly as I did; when they made the highest professions of friendship towards me. I do not condemn a man, till he has proved himself a vilian. I have had the misfortune to be used in a base manner, by three men, who made the greatest professions of friendship, and the most Solemn promises to me, of their Sincere desire to serve me in anything, which lay within their power; while they had neither a Design nor Intention to do it. They were all three, more beholden to me, than a little, nay than to any one else; from thence, I supposed, their professions of friendship were owing to a Spirit of Gratitude; when there was nothing that was farther from their real Design. *O tempera, o mores.*—But notwithstanding these men had betrayed the sacred ties of friendship; and that I have by my weakness in favor of B. Gov^t, had the misfortune to loose between four and five thousand pounds; yet I thank God, I am better of, than either of the three; that have taken so much pains to keep me beneath them. What little Character I ever had, Still remains, while theirs is of such a nature, that if I was to preach a funeral Sermon for either, this should be my Text, *By this time he Stinketh.*

I am not the only man, that has been chosed by the triumvirate, Bp Seabury had his share of it; for one of them rec^d a

pension of £200 p An. for writing the peice *A. W. Farmer*:³ when they all three knew, Doc S-y⁴ was y^e author. neither was either of them able to write it; so that if I have been a fool, I have got good company: If that can be any Consolation. There is another misfortune attends me, I have always been diffident of my own abilities; while others, who it may be, had no better, could exalt themselves to the highest. I am very much rejoiced to hear that Justice Stokes and family are well. make my Comp^{ts} acceptable to him, and to Mr and Mrs Jarvis; I am doing the best I can for your Sons Education. I have planned it so, that I have got a young man to board with him who will teach him well. I wonder You do not send a power to some one to take the use of your Estate for your Son. I have heard you have the Degree of D. D.—I want that matter ascertained.

I am with every Sentiment of Love, Esteem and Regard
Your most affectionate

Eusebius.

I have wrote in a great Hurry, and have not time to copy this Letter; which I should not fail to do when writing to a Critick. Do not fail to write me as often as you can, for I have no other correspondent in England.

You say, we are united in disorder, and want of wisdom. We have just found it out. But still we do not know w^t to do. We are in y^e same predicament with You at Home, over head and ears in debt.

³Three pamphlets were published in 1774: 1. "Free thoughts on the Proceedings of the continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774", "By a Farmer"; 2. "The Congress Canvassed, or an Examination into the conduct of the delegates at their Grand Convention, held in Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1774, Addressed to the Merchants of New York", "By A. W. Farmer"; 3. A View of the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies", "By A. W. Farmer". The authorship of these pamphlets was attributed to various writers, including Seabury. Rev. Jonathan Boucher in his volume of Sermons, "View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution", attributes the authorship of the pamphlets to Seabury, although the British Government actually granted a pension for this service to another person. For a full discussion of this question of Memoir of Bishop Seabury by William Jones Seabury, D. D. (New York: Edwin S. Gorham. 1908. Pp. 166-170.)

⁴Dr. Samuel Seabury.

Note.

On the address face of this letter is written the following:

"Oh Chandler, Auchmuty & Vardil-Trio"

"Good Leaming, Cooper, Jarvis, Hubbard, Scovil, Andrews

deceived by the Trio".⁵

Mr Samuel Peters
Pimblico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev
Sep 10. 1787
rec^d Nov 2^d
Answ^d 6

Sep 10. 1787.

My dear Sir,

In what have I offended, that hath caused you to forget your old friend? I want much to hear from you. But it must not be in the political Line; for my letters of late, have their Seals broke; and you know what is y^e Design, when such things are done.

There is nothing but disappointment in trade, and consequently nothing but poverty to be heard of. Oh! I am mistaken; there is pride, discontent, confusion, and every evil work, cry aloud, to be gratified. And yet we are so bewildered, that we cant believe there is either of these things in the Land. To Speake the truth, we are proud of our Humility. You may think this is impossible; but depend upon it, it is true; it is a Self evident Truth, therefore, do not Scruple to affirm it.

If poverty will make us good Christians, we shall excel all the world. But I have my fears; we shall notwithstanding our poverty go on in the way of the world, seeking for happiness where it cannot be found. There is a certain set of people making Infidels as fast as they can, by preventing children from being made Christians by baptism, unless their parents were in *full Communion*. In many of the Towns

⁵Auchmuty was a one time rector of Trinity Church, New York; Cooper was Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, one time president of King's College, New York; Leaming, Bela Hubbard, Scovil, Andrews, were clergy of Connecticut—all Loyalists.

there are 500 Or 600—that are grown up: and still have not been baptized, that is remains heathen. In a few years, the greatest part of the Congregations, will be such. No matter whether they make any profession of Religion, if they go to meeting and set by a pillar, or in a certain pew; they are Christians, nay good Christians, if they do not hear one word in ten; and do not believe one in twenty that they do hear. And I may say, it would be better to believe nothing, than to suppose they are X^{ns}, without Baptism.

Every Invention is at work, to prove that Religion is not Divine, y^t the Officers are not Divine, and the Ordinances are not Divine. If the people can be brot into these Sentiments, there is an end of all Religion at once. I cant but hope, there is yet some method will be discovered, to bring the Truth to Light, that hath been so long burried under the Seabrooke platform. In rubish of the old temple perhaps, may be found, that old Book, which will teach us the Truth—and shew Religion to come from heaven.

It seems M^d will have some Religion; and the old Serpent will engage their utmost attention to Religion, provided it is not the *true*; and accordingly they are led captive at his will—And there is so many Sorts, every one may chuse that he like, and yet chuse a false Rel. God grant that y^e true may yet take root.

While I was writing this Letter, I hear B^r H^d has rec^d a Large packet from you, but not so such a Scrip for that old croked fellow, that you know has more Love for you than a 1000 of the great; tho you will continue to abuse him Yet, either by neglect, or a more severe conduct, raising his hopes, in order to disappoint. What is become of y^e great man who waited so long for a mitre; and now says, Why are y^e wheels of his Chariot so long in coming? never mind it he has haughty patience; and that will endure all things, hope all things; even hope against hope. However all may yet be right, if we can find the old Book. that it may be so, is the earnest wish of all pious men. And thus prays, your old friend..... keep your own Counsels, and mine. And yet be a man of my own heart, and you shall be my appolo-

²Your orthodoxy, Piety, Morality & charities are Damning

¹Rev. Bela Hubbard.

²This paragraph appears to be in a different handwriting. There is no signature to the letter.

Sins in England & in all Europe—Infidelity & Policy make
Bishops & give rich livings, when covered with Smiles

Reverend Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London.

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 9, 1787
recd March 10, 178
1788
Answ^d 24-

Punkin Town Nov 9. 1787

My dear Sir,

I find you complain that I do not write to you; which is a mistake; altho I do not like to accuse you of mistakes: but am obliged to do it now in my own defense, for have wrote to you four times, since have rec^d any Letter from you. It may be they are not yet rec^d: but few Oppor^s present to London. And I desired Mr. R.¹ in N. York, not to send them by way of Falmoth: as there are a number of pamphlets which might put an expense upon you. Have made matters as easy for you as I could. Every thing ought to be easy, when it is so easy to be made a Bp. and so easy to conduct y^t Business after they are made. Had I known this before, I should not have been so diffident as I have been. I have not Vanity enough to think myself equal to some that are Bps, but perhaps this may be the Effects of old age. Be it so: no matter, old age, is good enough: provided tis thot to be able to defend the Doc^{es} and Discipline of the Chh. as it is in fact, when they want any Support they run to the old man. When it is printed will send you a copy, to return the Comp^t, of an excellent Serⁿ you preached at Dr Moffatts funeral. upon further consideration I will turn over a new leaf with you. And call you to acc^t for neglecting an old friend, because of the Infirmities of age, hath crept upon him, He is yet capable of friendship, and can by no means, be willing to be buried before he is dead.

¹Mr. Rlvington, New York and London bookseller.

I want much to know what your future prospects are, which I have never been able to learn from you, or anyone else. I should suppose, that if the prospects of the Clergy, that are gone to N Scotia, are as good, as they imagine, you would have taken your choice of the parishes there. But as you did not, I conclude, they are all, mistaken in their Views. And it will turn out to be a court Scheme, to get them there; and after a few years, drop them out of the tale of the Cart. I do Suppose you would have gone there, had you have known that a certain man² would have rid into that province upon Dr. C-nose³

Many there, love him, as well as you do; the Bandelet of his Mitre, will be very tite, notwithstanding all his hautiness.

Your dear Son will carry this Letter to you. and I pray God to grant him a safe passage; and may God bless the Child; and make him a comfort to you; which will give me great pleasure.⁴

You know when my friendship is fixed it is immovable, unless something is brought upon the Stage, that will mar the best of all our Enjoyments.

You certainly are a pure divine & Prophet—having a right Notion concerning Man in times of Yore & the present Age—

May I have your friendship during Life, and enjoy a Blessed Eternity with you. Thus prays

Yours affectionate

Eusebius.

P. S. I know, I have not right to ask an Excuse for Sended you a hastely Letter. No, Political affairs must pass between you and me.

²The reference is apparently to Dr. Charles Inglis, who became the first Bishop of Nova Scotia.

³Rev. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler.

⁴William Birdseye Peters was the son of Dr. Samuel Peters by his third wife, Mary Birdseye, to whom he was married in 1772. She died three weeks after the birth of William in 1774. He joined his father in England in 1784 and was educated there. Later he came to Canada, where he was till the War of 1812. He then returned to Connecticut and from there to Alabama, where he died.

Reverend Samuel Peters

Pimlico

London.

Notation.

Leaming Rev^d

June 25. 1788

rec Oct. 2

Answ^r Nov.

New Stratford or Independence

June 25. 1788.

My dear Sir,

I am now set down to write an answer to four Letter rec^d from you. They were, that is the three first, were dated Oct the 6th. and the 12th; and Nov^r 6, 1787. These Letters didnt come to hand till Feb. and March; when I was engaged in writing Dissertations &c so I concluded not to answer them till those Dissertations were printed. A copy of which I now send you. and wish it may come Safe to hand. And the fourth Letter dated the 2^d April 1788, I rec^d this day.

The reason why my Letters, did not arrive to you as soon as common, was, because I desired Mr. Revington not to send them unless in a ship for London. I hope we are not quite so bad as you imagine. In the Piece I send, you will find, I have Spoke plain, and not spared any, that deviate from the Church, when it was first planted by the Apostles, under Inspiration, with the same Commission that Christ rec^d from his Father. If I do not understand the Office of modern Bps, you will see, I hope, that I understand y^e Office of ancient Bp. as to the Bp of , he will not eat morrow pudding, unless some one else provides y^m. As to the Snares that are laid to catch ambitious men, I am exempt from the Danger; for if it had not been for my diffidence, I should have accepted of the Honor offered me. I wish you would tell me, what Snares are laid, that can endanger us— I know, that Fr y has proposed to model the affairs of these States, according to his own Views, in Chh and State. and to form all the people here, upon the plan of Unitarians. This he will not be able to do, if the Chh will be as careful in this point, as it ought to be. And we shall be unmoveable, unless we depart from our former Character. There is one, that as long as he is able to hold his pen, who will defend the Chh against all those that attack her. And altho, you may say, he does not write

with the Spirit, which formerly dictated his pen; Yet if they make any reply to him, it will Stir up his fire, that hath been burried with ashes of old age. When he is writing for the Chh, he feels a young Soul, reviving in an old Body.

Your Son, Birdseye Peters, went from here to N York, to go and see you; but when he came to N York, his heart failed him, and he returned to this place. I wrote you by him, but you do not mention the receipt of that Letter.

Whether your Son will now go home, upon the Invitation you give him, is with me, a matter of doubt. I should think by the abuse you are casting upon the poor Americans, you had an absolute hatred to us; were it not, that you sometimes let something slip from your pen, which shews, after all your sourness is mingled with a double Acid, you have a Love for the Clergy of this State. And I must say, you would be more happy, provided you come to this Town, and lived with your Father, and take care of his affairs, which he is not able to do himself. And as little worth as I am, I doubt not but that we should in the cloudy part of Life, enjoy some pleasure, in each others company. If you were to be here only six months you might get your Estate into your own hands. You cant depend upon any that you have employed. They cant Do in that affair as you can. with every Sentiment of Esteem, regard and love, I am, your ever affectionate

Eusebius.

I am not able to give any acc^t concerning Mr. Reed—have not had time to make enquiry; I shall write as soon as I have. and suppose that Letter will reach you before this: I desire Mr. Rivington not to send this, till he can send it, without postage—

Reverend Samuel Peters
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d
Aug 29, 1788.
rec^d Nov. 16
by my Son—
Answ^d Nov. 17.

Stratford Aug^t 29. 1788.

Dear Sir,

Have this day rec^d your Letter dated 13 June. And am not a Little Surprised to find, That you have deserted your

old principles, and gone over to Dr. Stiles exactly: If he had the Letter you wrote me, he would hug you to Death. I cant but wonder w^t there is in the Air of London, and all other Cities, to convert men, Who are honest, to turn Dissenters.

I have sent you my *Dissertations*; and I suppose it will mortify you beyond measure, to find, That y^r old friend hath made himself contemptible in y^e Eyes of all Europe, (as you express it) by assert the Truth. I have not taken my Maxims, from common Law; not consulted what Christ *might have done*; but what in fact, *he has Done*. Had I known you had deserted the Church Christ has appointed, I would not have given you occasion to blush on my acc^t, among your European protestants. However, you must get along as you can; as all other Dissenters do—Ephraim is joined to his Idols—D^r F. y- St-s Billy Whig. I wonder you have sent for your Son: Dr. Stiles could have taught him, all your Creeds, and would have exalted him and you, to the highest Heaven, along with Gov^r T—And the G will be so well pleased that he will give you the Right hand of fellowship.

I must say, it is unaccountable to me how you could get y^e Cant of y^e party so *soon*, and so *exact*. The Dissenters were for ever, when I was in College, dinning in my Ears, *with y^e protestant Line of y^e Royal House of Hanover*—When y^e English, Stiled themselves the *reformed Chh*. I have many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now; for when men are newly converted, they are too eager and warm to be informed, altho they might possibly be in Error.

When y^e world has once begun to use us ill, it afterwards continues with the less Ceremony. And the man that despises it, has overcome it. You have let nose escape, in your last Letter, which you have not in any you have sent me four years past I suppose you imagine he is dead. I expect I should hear you repeat, the Dutch proverb, *He that cuts off his Nose, spoils his face*. But you never forget the other D^r. He is the lost Sheep wandering in the mountains of— But Solaces himself, y^t *when true Genius appears, all y^e Dunces are in confederacy against him*.

I am not over Anxious about obtaining the good opinion of your European protestants, for they have contrives so as to rob me of more than £4000; when they promised it should

be made good to me, altho they never designed it. And I was so incredulous as to believe it. Bought wit they say is y^e best; but mine is too large a purchase. However it is no great to me. I am far advanced in Life, and provided I have acted right, as I believe I have, I know I shall receive a better reward than they can give. so shall be content. with the hope, that Religion affords: notwithstanding it is so contemptible in Eyes of all Europe— I have been in hopes, that You, and I should meet in y^e same mansions of Bliss in another world: But as you have turned Dissenter, my hopes are at an end for tho suppose y^e Dissenters have mansions of happiness in that world, perhaps they will not be the same of those of the true Chh—may you see the truth, is the prayer of your most aff. friend

Eusebius.

wrote in great haste.

Mr Peters.

The Reverend Doctor
Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
March 17, 1789
rec^d May 21
Answ^d May 28

Stratford March 17. 1789

Dear Sir,

I have received two Letters from you, the last dated the 18 Nov^r.— for which you have my hearty thanks. You give such an Acc^t of the Chh in England, that I am surprised that you do not wish to come here, and enjoy the benefits of a true Apostolical Chh.

I suppose you believe that Christ hath a Chh in some part of y^e world; in which there are the same officers as were first appointed by the Apostles. And is not Connecticut the place where such a Chh may be found?

In short, the truth is, there is two sorts of people, the *world*, and the *Chh of Christ*, that is chosen out of the world. These Latter hold fast to the Faith once delivered to the

Saints; they have turned their backs upon the world, and Set their faces toward Zion. And altho the world should say to us, as festus did to St. Paul, *thou art beside thyself, thou art mad*, yet we shall esteem it a favour to be called fools for Christ's sake; and we with all those who despise us, altogether such as we are, except our Poverty.

It appears strange to me, to hear a man of sense, Argue in this manner, the world have not believed the truth, therefore I will not—

What Signifies it to multiply words in the Case? Ephraim is joined to his Idols, therefore let him alone. Yet be assured, you will always have a Sincere friend in

Eusebius.

P. S. Phebee* joins with Eusebius in the warmest regard to Mr and Mrs Jarvis.

The Rev^d Dr Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d Dr
Nov 2. 1789
received Feb 7. 1-90
Ans -Mar 14.90
by Woolsey

Stratford Nov 2. 1789.

My very dear Sir,

Notwithstanding all your Scolding about the baseness of the times, you have preached and published a most excellent Sermon, and favoured me with a Copy of it, for which You have my hearty thanks; as it atones for all your Exccentricities in another Line.

I have to acknowledge your very much esteemed favours of the 28th of May, and the 4th of Aug. last. You desire to know what passes here in our Chh: we are endeavouring to put our Southern Chh¹, upon a Christian foundation which I think will be effected; they now desire we may be in union

*Mrs. Leaming.

¹The term "Southern Church" is used in these letters to designate the Episcopal churches outside New England.

with them upon such a plan, that I hope will turn to advantage. Bp Seabury is now gone to Phil^a and two of his Clergy—Hubbard and Jarvis; in order y^t something may be done properly in the affair. I hear that Bp S. presides at the Convention.² And for that reason hope there will be a new turn for the better, as I hear he has been very much carists there, and Bp White³ is his fast friend; tho you have prophesied no Good to come from that man: yet if he should actually upon Trial be found to embrace the Truth, I suppose you will not refuse him absolution, in as much as you say some presbyterians are gone to heaven because they repented. I begin to think, that you are full as much pledged with them, as you say I am. however let that matter be as it may, I am much pleased to find that you are not quiete turned Mohomatant; Yet I have my fears, as you have no wife, and that Religion promises so much pleasure with the fine Ladies in the other world, and some of them in this; it may be well for you, to enquire a little about ye Evidence given for what is esserted by that sort of people. I imagine you will not take matters upon Trust, without seeing your way clear. So that I have some hopes you will yet, notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Christian world, not leave us intirely, but will join with the Scotch Bps, as you seem to have some small Value for them. I hope you will maturely consider this matter. It is a great thing to change Religion. And especially exchange a good one, for a bad one. And the only reason why the change was made, was the bad Lives of those who made a profession, and not from any Errors in the Religion itself. If the mahomatant Rel could better things, upon which you prity value yourself, there might be some excuse for you. If it could give you more Beauty, or more wit, or more politeness, or more knowledge, or more Benevolence, or more honesty, or more Sincerity, or

²The difficulties which threatened to divide the churches in New England from the other States were finally settled at an adjourned meeting of the General Convention which commenced September 29, 1789, in Philadelphia. On October 2nd Bishop Seabury, together with Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis, deputies from Connecticut, and Samuel Parker, representing Massachusetts and New Hampshire, signed the modified Constitution of the Church and took their seats in the Convention.

³Bishop of Pennsylvania.

more Benevolence, or more Love for the poor Americans; there might be some Excuse urged in your favour; but for a man possessed with all these Endowments, to change his Rel, is absolutely preposterous.—and I make no doubt, when you View the Subject in this Light you will, be of y^e same mind with an old friend, who loves you so much, that he wishes to enjoy Heaven with you, and some other Saints, who have that Benevolence which those Blessed Regions above are constantly chanting in Halalugahs to the Redeemer of Sinful mortals. adieu my dear Sir

J. Leaming.

Dr Peters.

want of health prevented my going to Phila. but am now in some measure recovered.

Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London

a Copy
Notation
Leaming Rev^d
August 6. 1790
Recd Jany 12. 91.

New York Aug^t 6. 1790.

Dear Sir,

The Complaint I have labour under for several years has now taken possession of my hands, am Scarce able to hold a pen, yet cannot fail to answer your Letter dated March 14— for w^h fav^r you have my hearty thanks. I have a heart yet, tho have not much use of my hands.

Dr Madison is elected Bp for Virⁿ, and is now on his passage for London for ought that I know; have not heard that he has sailed. Pro^t refused to join in consecrating him; w^t will be the result, cannot say—

I am not able to do the Duty of my parish, or that I shall be soon; and I should not chuse to preach till the people might say, I wish y^e old man w^d leave off preaching; accordingly

¹Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York.

have given up my parish to James Sayre²—and have removed to N Y, to spent the Close of Life in private, at w^h place I shall be glad to receive your Commands.

Before I left Stratford, I took care that Mr. Birdseye should make his will. I drew it for him and made it exactly according to his own Inclination; and must say, it is done as it ought to be—he has ordered that his whole Estate shall be equally divided between his two Grandsons—

You as a friend will excuse my blunders, for am not able at present to transcribe this Letter, as it is too painful for me to do it. my love to your good family, dear sir, concludes me your aff Friend—&c.

J. L.

Doctor Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
London.

Notation
Leaming Rev.
29 Octob 1790
recd Dec 23. 90

(This, and the letter following, dated, Nov. 17, 1790, refers to the claim on the British Government by Dr Leaming for compensation for losses incurred during the War of the Revolution.)

New York Oct 29, 1790

Dear Sir,

I have been strangely disappointed in my application to Government for Compensation for the Losses I sustained. The first I sent to London in 1784, to the care of Bp Seabury. He

²The Rev. James Sayre had a troubled career in the Church. In 1771 he was admitted to the Bar of New York; then entered the ministry and became a chaplain to a British regiment, which post he resigned in 1777 "impelled by distress, severity of treatment and by duty" (Sabine: *Loyalists*. Vol. II, p. 265). He appears to have ministered at Brooklyn, N. Y., for a time, and later in Connecticut. Under date of July 17, 1786, Bishop Seabury recommended him to be rector of Trinity Church, Newport, R. I. (Mason: *Annals of Trinity Church*, pp. 179-181), and he entered on his ministry there on August 6. In 1790 he removed to Stratford. He entered a formal protest against the proceedings of the General Convention of 1789 and fell under ecclesiastical censure. Before his death in 1798 it was discovered that he was insane.

did not receive it. Afterward I sent my papers concerning that affair to Nova Scotia to be laid before the Commissioners there. The matter was delayed, and nothing done. And now have wrote to the person who held those papers, desiring him to enclose them and send them to you. I understand the Door is yet open—And I beg the favour of you, to undertake the Business, in case you see there is any prospect of Success. And I will make you a due Compensation for your trouble.

The Land was 70 Acres, a house and Barn upon it, lying at Middletown, which was confiscated and Sold. It is prized at £360—Lawfull money. The Land lying at Norwalk was 40 Acres, confiscated and Sold—prized at £191:10—Another little Farm of 44 Acres with a house and Barn upon it lying at Farmington, was confiscated, and Sold: prized at £206. And I lost all I had in my house, and all the obligations I had for money and all debts—And besides these things, a house in Boston at the South End of the Town was pulled down by General Gage to make fortifications there for which house I was offered £200 Sterling by a man in Boston, but only one week before Boston was shut up—But afterwards could not get a letter in; and provided I could, it would have been too late when the house was demolished.

I believe Gov^t must be tired with hearing the doleful Storries of the suffering Americans: And I suppose those who have left the Craft, have the most to say—But I abhor all deceit; but none so much as to deceive the Gov^t in this case. I had rather have nothing at all; than to deceive them in the minute Circumstance.

My hands are better than they were, but lame—I have sent you a copy of two Letters wrote some time ago—suppose if you had rec^d them, I should have had Letters from you before now.

My best regards to Mr. Jarvis and his Lady; and believe me to be with every Sentiment and Esteem your most aff. Friend

Eusebius.

P. S. am so lame it is difficult for me write—

2^d P. S. You can repret my case to Gov^t better than anyone in the world beside. for you have known me, and can

say from your own knowledge, that would be more convincing than any thing that could be done by those who are not acquainted with me. And provided anything is obtained should be glad it might be placed in a public fund in Britian.

Dr Petters.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor Place
fav^d Captⁿ Woolsey
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 17, 1790
Rec^d Jany 12
Answ^d Feby 2.

New York Nov 17, 1790

Dear Sir,

It is not a formal, but a real friendship which causes me to persecute You so often with my Letters— Indeed this Letter, is founded upon self Love; a hope of obtaining what is justly due, from the naval department when they were here in the time of the late war—

The Admiral put some Coopers into a Tenement of mine, which they kept possession of, for the Space of Seven years and three months: the same Tenement and Lot, could have been Leased at the rate of £40-p An. and as soon as the peace was made was leased at the rate of £40-p An. And I now receive that Rent for it every year.

You know how to apply, and to whom; and I can't think they would refuse the payment of a debt so just—and it was a place so much wanted, that they could not do without it. You may ask why I did not apply at an earlier period. My answer is; I was told, there would be Commissioners sent, to pay off such Debts—But I do not find that to be true: I make this application—

May Heaven bless you and yours—thus prays old
Eusebius.

P. S. I applied to the Admiral that he would give me possession of it; But he replied, it would be done, only by shewing him another place where there was as large a Lot. My Lot was 100 feet depth.

Admiral Arbothnot told me I might depend upon his word, that I should be paid £40 —. an—when told him I could rent it at that rate. If the Form of acc^t, I have herewith given, is not proper, I wish you would form one for me that is right—

The Government of Great Britian Debtor to Jeremiah Leaming Clerk—

this	To a large Lot of Ground and Store occu-
acc ^t	pied by the Coopers for the Navy from the 20th
entered	July 1776, to November 1783. being Seven
upon	years and three months £290—New York
Book	money—Errors excepted by Jeremiah Leaming
Nov ^r	New york
20. 1783.	Nov 15. 1790.

The Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
Grosvenor place
London

Notation
Leaming Rev
18 April 1791
rec^d 28 June 91
Item

Aug 8

New York Ap: 18, 1791.

My dear Sir,

I have not rec^d your fav^r of the 29th of Oct^r last, till within a few days. You observe I have *Otium cum signilate, even in pergamos*. I endeavor to act my part with propriety, I preach when it is proper. and when I do preach, I deliver the Truth. And the people receive it. and say, they obtain more information from one discourse of mine, than they do from all the preaching they hear besides.

Why I did not inform you of Dr Chandler's death, was owing to my inability to write at that time. And when I was able to write, I knew you must have been informed of it: for you get the knowledge of things done here before I do; first I know of many transactions here, I receive from Doc^r Peters. Doc^r Beach preached his (Dr C) funeral Serⁿ, which I did not know till you told me of it. It is not printed. And after the great character of D^r C in England, he had not so

much as a newspaper penegerick in this City. The muses Slept; and the poets were dumb. You mention Madison* as making up the canonical number: and tell me, of Mr. Pauls ordaining *Timothy* Bp of Crete, You say, you are informed of this out of an obsolete Book. I have a Book, I am persuaded is as old as yours, which acquaints me, that this Mr. Paul ordained *Titus* Bp of Crete.

I have rec^d Your Letter of Feb. 2, 91. And find you have had wrong notions about Mr Birdseyes will. I suppose it hath arisen from my not describing of it Exactly. This is the Truth Mr Birdseye give part of his Estate to his Son: that was confiscated: but not sold, five Acres excepted. And after the peace they could not sell it; and it was given back to Everet as heir of his father. And Mr Birdseye hath given just the same to your Son; and then has ordered the remainder of the Estate to be equally divided between your Son, and Everet— Mr Birdseye did not give half of his Land to his Son; it was only half of the home Lot, and five Acres down in the field. He has given the other half of the home Lot to your Son, before he orders a division of the Estate between them.

I am your friend, and ever shall be in the best sense of the word, and I hope to conduct in such a manner as to retain Your friendship to the last moment of Life. I wish I could spend some time in your Conversation which would give me the greatest pleasure. But that cannot be. However I endeavor to make the most of such Conversation as I have. But really the most part of it, is very insipid to old age. It is natural to love old friends, that are friends indeed: and old wine that is genuine. But you are not to suppose, I am become immoderate in the use of that blessing of Heaven, which was designed to cheer the Spirits of old age.

Letters came by the Jame Ship in which yours came to me, from a Gentleman who went from this City to obtain a compensation for his confiscated Estate: and he writes he is like to obtain it. I suppose it is no strange thing, that the

*Madison was consecrated Bishop of Virginia in London, September 19, 1790, thereby consummating the English succession of American bishops as distinguished from the Scottish through Seabury.

door should be shut against a Clergyman who suffered more than any, and yet compensation to be given to others.

Altho it is impossible for us to meet here, yet I hope we may meet in Heaven and spend a happy Eternity together:— Is it possible, that such friendship as hath subsisted between you and me, should come to an End, when you and myself shall quit these Tenements of Clay?

I am with every Sentiment of Regard, Esteem and Gratitude your most affectionate friend—

J. Leaming.

P. S. Do not fail to make Mrs Leamings and my compliments to Mr Jarvis and his Lady.

Rev^d Doctor Samuel Peters
Pimlico
London

Notation
Leaming Rev^d
Nov 21. 1791
rec Jany 3. 92
Ans Feby 2.

New York Nov 21. 1791.

My very dear Sir,

I have now two Letters before me from you, one very long of the 28th June; which I am not able to answer. The other of the 8th Aug^t to which I shall pay particular Attention. In this you say, You expect to see America before X^{mas}, tho all pendent on the ministry and you expect to die in the west, near Noakafound. while I live, as you say, in my beloved City. In this you are mistaken. Middletown is my beloved City, above all other places in the world— I designed that for the place of my residence in the Close of Life. and made provision with that View, in a paternal Estate which fell to me there. But Gov^t, or rather old Devenport who is now gone to some other Region, thot fit to take it from me: so that all the Estate I now have is in this City, for that reason have pitched my Tent in this City. Could I have had my own choice Middletown would have been the place, as I have always been treated by that people with more respect and friendship than those of any other place. And next to that, should have preferred New Haven, for the same reason.

As to your Latin, have not any fault to find in it. And meaning in English is pleasing to me. I do not know who Sir John Benedutus, Joseph Esq^r are: so cannot determine whether they are better Criticks than Ch Teni^m -Duche or Combs.

As to Dr Stearns, he should not have pitched upon New England nor N York for obtaining honor to himself, for these are places in which he exhibited in former times, a Conduct, which will rinder him most contemptible. I am very sorry to find you are out of health, hope God will soon restore it. Thus prays your most sincere friend

Jeremiah Leaming.

Addressed to
The Rev^d Dr Samuel Peters
London.

Notation.
Leaming Rev^d Dr
June 5, 1792
rec^d Aug. 25
Ans^d Aug 25.

New York June 5, 1792.

This very day, my dear friend, your Fav^r of Feb 1, 92, But am sorry to find that you are meditating a scheme to take away my Son, from these happy Regions where we enjoy the happyness to Tax ourselves as much, or as little as we please, & as to the great things you say of Simcopolis; if I am not much mistaken, The Jerseys will far exceed it; for they have determined to nominate me for the Bp of that State: and provided they do, and will comply with my requisitions, I will form them into a true primitive Chh—Then let Simcopolis and the Jerseys vie with each other, to see which will excel. You must not mistake me, and suppose that my vanity hath increased with my age: and that I can do as much in advanced Life, as you who are so much younger and in the meridian of Life. No! But the materials being so much better, and earlier formed to the Truth, than those, who are under your care, will cause the affairs in the Jerseys to preponderate. This I suppose you will say, is one of my paradoxes, Or rather it is the fumes arising from the dregs of Life.

I am grieved that you are so ready to believe an ill report of the good people of this Land. You may depend upon it the report you have heard is false. Come here and you will be convinced that what you have heard is not the Character which the Americans have ever deserved. I never heard that any one among the Americans has been guilty of that Crime.

I think you ought not to change measures for such Idle Reports; and neglect to come here, as you engaged, to see your old friend; who will feel happy to *see* you; notwithstanding you hold the Bps here in such contempt, and Stile them *overlookers*. Yet I will not overlook you, provided you will take the route to Monneal thro this City.—and I should think, if nothing else was to determine this affair, but only convenience to yourself; you would take the nearest way to Monneal: and not run round Robenhoods barn 3000 miles farther to escape poison, where there is none, You have friends here; and you will have Enemies, go where you will: even at New Jerusalem.

You accuse the Americans for not paying their Debts. be it so: for which I condemn them. And I blame the Britians for being guilty of a more hienous Crime: that of violating the wills of the dead. In the year 1710 the Bp of Can^y, gave £1,000 for the Support of Bps in America: the Lady Bety Hastings in the year 1735 gave £1500 for the same purpose; and several thousands besides given by pious persons; all these Donations were given for the support of a Bp, or Bps, in what is now called the United States. Yet this is taken contrary to the will of the Donors, and given to the support of a Bp in a part which belonged to France* at the time when the Donation was made. Who has had a right to alter the wills of these persons since they were dead? If there were conditions in these wills, that in case we remained under the Gov^t of G. Britian, we should receive the Legacy: and provided we Did not, we should forfeit it: then there would be plausible pretence to withhold it. But there is no such condition in these Dona^{ns}: and hence it is plain, that some Bp in these States, has a better right to the money thus given, than any man who has trusted the Americans, to Demand it of them.

*Nova Scotia.

Is this Sacralège? I leave you to judge as you know who receives it. I love you, as much as you do me.

Adieu.

J. Leaming.

Dr Petters.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters
N 22 York Street,
London

Per the Brig
Alexander
Via Liverpool.

Notation
Leaming Rev Dr
6 July 1794
recd Sept 20. -94
ans Sep^t 29.

New York July 6. 1794—

My ever dear sir,

Your much esteemed favour of the 15th of April, I rec^d three days ago. As to the papers you sent me, they have not come to hand. What can be the cause, I cannot say. But I imagine, some person, who hates the Britains, has put them aside—I wish you could inform me, the time when, and the person by whom they were sent.

The Marquis of Lansdown may make what fun he pleases, in Saying, *his majesty Genl Washington*; as long as we are happy, we shall not fear, nor feel his Sarcasms. But we have some internal troubles from those who have come here to find happiness, but will never be so, here or any where Else. The truth is, there is no sort of Government will please such kind of people.

You ask why I am not consecrated a Bp? I answer, because, I did not desire it. The Clergy in the Jersies, saw their Chhs going to Ruins, without a Bp; and upon first thought, supposed I was the only person who could prevent it: but upon more mature deliberation found out, that there was not a Clerygman in that State who was not well qualified for that Office. And yet there was not one, to whom any one of them, would give his vote: except for himself, which they all did, one excepted. I did not wish to be a Bp. You ask if I did not wish for "Bps' Bench in Heaven"? I answer; If I may be so happy as to obtain the lowest Seat in Heaven; it

will be more than I deserve: and can only hope to obtain it, thro the Propitiation and Intercession of my Blessed Redeemer.

You seem to insinuate, that you shall come here, and be Bp of Vermont. I do not know what your Prospects are, but to me, it appears, but little good can be done, and the greater fatigue undergone.

The changing Scenes of this world are such at present, that there is little to be hoped for, and less to be realized. You ask if you shall find faith in America. I hope you may. however it is something Scarce here: for faith is turned out of doors. And most of the preachers have Substituted Conversion, in the room of Faith: In the Chapter of Conversion is found the whole of what belongs to Religion.

Am much pleased with your Son. I think he will do well in the world. his mind and manners are much improved and his affability will always gain him friends. As the world is at present, I cant Say but he has done well, not to take the character of a Clergyman, preaching is so much prostituted, that it is a question, whether there is not more mischief done by it, than good. What is built by one that is right, is pulled Down by two who are wrong.

It is difficult for me to write, as my abilities of mind and Body fail very fast—the old age does not love to confess it. This seems strange, for why should we be so unwilling to own what every one else knows to be a fact—there is no need to tell you, how much regard for you, rests in the breast of old

Eusebius.

Rev^d Doc^r Samuel Peters

Grosvenor Place Pimlico Notation

London

Leaming Rev^d

Nov 15. 1792

recd June 3. 1793

Answ^d July 30

New York Nov^r 15. 1792.

Rev^d and dear sir,

Have rec^d your most obliging Letter dated the 26th of last Aug^t, five days ago. And am now set down to acquaint you,

that I feel the sincere friendship for you that I ever have had. There are so many things in your Letter, that it is impossible for me to attend to them all: and say what, I must not Omitt on other affairs—

In the year 1711. the Society* gave orders to his Excellency Robert Hunter Esq^r then Gov^r of New York and New Jersey, to purchase a place in the Jerseys for a Bishops Seat; and he did according to the Societies request, agree with John Tatham for a house and Land, for that purpose, for which he paid £600 Sterling. For which Sum John Tatham made a Deed in fee Simple to the Society forever, dated Feb. 26. 1711. which place was purchased by the Society for a Bishops residence.

I wish you would be so kind as to examine the Societys Books for the years 1711, 1712, and 1713, in which years I suppose you will find the Deed recorded. And in case I should be invited with the Charge of that Church, I should, wish to know, how that Business was transacted by the Society at that time; for their measures were changed concerning a Bp for America, after George the first came to the Throne. If it can be done, pray find me, a Copy of that Deed: or rather bring it yourself, for altho you say nothing of coming, yet I must think you will be graced with a Mitre. And whether you are, or not—I shall love you as a good, honest man. As one that has a Soul like a Prince: Even without any of the Appendiges.

May all the Troubles we have both suffered make us prize the world of Hallaluas so much the more; for tis but a little time, before we must leave every thing here below. May we be prepared for that Hour. Thus prays your Affectionate friend and Brother

Jeremiah Leaming.

*Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

(To be continued.)

THE FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS OF CAROLINA, AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA.

By Joseph Blount Cheshire, Bishop of North Carolina.

The fundamental Constitutions of Carolina may probably be considered as the "last word", up to the present time, in the efforts of able and learned men to lay out by theory a scheme of practical social and political organization, upon which to build up the life of a new nation in a new country. The work of the Philosopher John Locke, acting under the immediate direction, and doubtless with the assistance, of the able and versatile Shaftesbury, they proved to be so utterly impracticable, and inapplicable to the country and people for whom they were specially designed, that their enforcement was never seriously attempted in Albemarle, as the northern settlements of Carolina were called; and even in the southern settlement upon the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, around the new city of Charleston, where some of their provisions were for a time enforced in part, they were set aside and formally abrogated by the authors themselves, before the year 1700, which had been set as the date when this elaborate scheme should be put into full and complete operation.

Yet this instrument, so futile in its general plan and its chief features, contained germs of political justice and wisdom, which perhaps found some lodgment in the life and thought of the people, and which survived and attained a better development in their subsequent history. This is specially true of its fine declaration of the principles of religious liberty which is noble and just, and such as must have impressed the best minds and hearts in the infant communities, and helped in the end to accomplish its intended purpose.

The Fundamental Constitutions, however, grew out of the provisions of the Charters of Charles II, and we must at least glance at those Charters, since they lie at the beginnings of the Civil and Religious institutions of the Province of Carolina.

The name Virginia, applied at first to all the coast of North America explored by the enterprise of the Elizabethan seamen, had by the second quarter of the seventeenth century begun to be restricted to so much of the territory as was under the general authority and occupation of the Colony whose headquarters were at Jamestown. To the South a large and unoccupied region separated the English from the Spanish settlements in Florida. Two attempts of French Huguenots, to make settlements at Port Royal and at St. John's River, had been defeated, and the Colonists barbarously murdered by the Spanish, leaving nothing behind but one or two local names. Their fort, *Arx Carolina*, Fort Charles, so called after Charles VII of France, is thought by some to have given the name Carolina to this part of the coast of America. But when in 1629 Charles I, of England, granted to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, this unoccupied region, and called it the "Province of Carolina", it was probably his own name which determined the designation.

The Charters of 1663 and 1665.

Nothing was done under this grant of Charles I towards the exploration or settlement of the country, and when settlers from Virginia began to occupy, under Indian titles, the rich lands lying south of that government, Charles II made no difficulty about granting this region anew to eight Lords Proprietors, as he designated them, by two Charters, the first in the year 1663, the second in 1665. Under this grant of Charles II the first government of Carolina was organized on the north side of that great fresh-water Sound, which came to be known as Albemarle Sound, as the settlement was known by the general name of Albemarle.

The Charter of 1665 simply enlarged the boundaries of the Province, making its northern line conterminous with the Southern boundary of Virginia, and extending the Southern boundary of Carolina to make it coincide with the twenty-ninth degree of north latitude. Both Charters give as the

Western limit of the grant the shores of the "South Sea", i. e., the Pacific Ocean.

The provisions of these two Charters are substantially and almost literally the same. In both it is provided that the religious institutions of the country shall be in accordance with "the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England", but in both it is also provided that the Lords Proprietors may, to such persons as "cannot in their private opinions conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the Liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take and subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf", "give and grant * * * such indulgences and dispensations in that behalf, for and during such time and times, with such limitations and restrictions, as they, the said (Lords Proprietors), shall in their discretion think fit and reasonable". This indulgence is to be granted upon condition that the persons so indulged "shall declare and continue all fidelity, loyalty and obedience" to the royal authority and the laws of the land, and shall in no "wise disturb the peace and safety thereof, or scandalize or reproach the said liturgy, forms, and ceremonies", etc., thus the Charter of 1663. The Charter of 1665 omits the specific condition, not to "scandalize or reproach the said liturgy", etc., and substitutes more general words: "and that no person or persons, to whom such may be given, shall be in any way molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of the Province, * * * but all * * * may freely and quietly have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, * * * they behaving themselves peaceably, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury, or outward disturbance of any others".

Two observations are to be made upon these provisions of the Charters: First, that they both contemplate a religious establishment, supported by public authority, and this establishment to be in accordance with the ecclesiastical institutions of the Mother Country. Second, that the question of religious

liberty, to what extent and for what period granted, and under what conditions and restrictions to be exercised, is left entirely within the discretion of the Lords Proprietors. They are *allowed* to grant it; they are not *required* to do so. But once granted, and settlers being attracted to the Province by this, as one of the inducements held out to them, it would become, in the nature of the case, a vested right, not to be withdrawn, or unreasonably restricted, without great and manifest injustice. At the same time the terms of the Charters make it abundantly plain, that the liberty of conscience and of worship proposed was not meant to exempt those thus favored from subjection to the laws of the country, nor from support of its public institutions civil and ecclesiastical.

The Lords Proprietors were not slow to act upon these provisions of their Charter. By a policy of religious toleration they hoped to attract settlers to their vast domain. In their "Declaration and Proposals to all that will plant in Carolina", put out August 25th, 1663, and circulated in England and in the colonies, especially in New England and Barbadoes; in their Instructions to Governor Stevens, of Albemarle, in 1670; and in other contemporary documents and records of the Lords Proprietors, we find them granting, "in as ample manner as the undertakers shall desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious and spiritual things, to be kept inviolably with them". They even went a step further than the Charters seem to have contemplated. All rights of advowson and patronage of Ecclesiastical livings had by the Charters been expressly reserved to the Lords Proprietors; but in their "Articles of Agreement" with Maj. Wm. Yeamans and Sir John Yeamans in 1665, and in their "Instructions for our Governor of Albemarle", in 1667, they insert the following: "Item, And that no pretence may be taken by us, our heirs or assigns, for or by reason of our right of patronage and power of advowson, granted unto us by His Majesty's Letters Pattents aforesaid, to infringe thereby the general clause of Liberty of conscience aforementioned, We do hereby grant unto the General Assembly of said county, power by Act to appoint such and so many

ministers or preachers as they shall think fit, and to establish their maintenance, giving liberty besides to any person or persons to keep and maintain what preachers or ministers they please."

No effort, however, was made to accept this offer. The settlements along the streams running into the north side of Albemarle Sound were scattered, the settlers few and poor, and all their energies engrossed in the difficult work of clearing the land and getting it under cultivation. It was many years yet before so much as a village or *hamlet* gave a centre of population or influence, and social and political institutions had hardly begun to crystalize into even the simple forms of frontier life.

It was in this rudimentary state of their Province of Carolina that the Lords Proprietors devised and promulgated their *Grand Model*, as they called the Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina.

Only one act of the General Assembly of Albemarle has, I believe, come down to us in its entirety from the period anterior to the publication of the Fundamental Constitutions. That act has an interesting bearing upon the religion of the first settlers. Referring to it, Mr. Bancroft says that "Marriage was made a civil contract", implying some intentional lessening of the religious sanctions of Marriage. No trace of any such thought or sentiment can be found in the terms of the Act. On the contrary, it speaks again and again of "the holy state of wedlock", and a distinct intimation of regret is to be perceived in the explanation given for the necessity of allowing marriages to be contracted without the accustomed blessing of the Church of their Mother Country. The date of this Act of the Assembly of Albemarle is not known but it was ratified by the Lords Proprietors January 20th, 1669 (i. e. 1670 new style). It is in these words:

An Act Concerning Marriages.

"Forasmuch as there may be divers people that are minded to be joined together in the holy state of wedlock, and for that

there is no minister as yet in this country by whom the said parties may be joined in wedlock according to the rites and customs of our native country the Kingdom of England; that none may be hindered from so necessary a work for the preservation of mankind and settlement of this country, it is enacted, and be it enacted, by the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of Carolina, by and with the consent of the present Assembly and authority thereof, that any two persons desiring to be joined together in the holy estate of matrimony, taking three or four of their neighbors along with them, and repairing unto the Governor or any one of the Council, before him declaring that they do join together in the holy estate of wedlock, and do accept the one the other for man and wife, and the said Governor or Councillor, before whom such act is performed, giving certificate thereof, and the said certificate being registered in the Secretary's office, or by the Register of the precinct, or in such other office as shall hereafter for that use be provided, it shall be deemed a lawful marriage, and parties violating this marriage shall be punished as if they had been married by a minister according to the rites and customs of England."

The First Settlers in Albemarle.

The first settlement of North Carolina was by the natural overflow from Virginia, as the best lands in the older Colony were taken up, and the more adventurous spirits pushed forward into the unoccupied regions beyond. What was the religion, or what were the religious associations and antecedents, of these first settlers?

Until the publication of the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records in the year 1886, all our historians, local and general, who had written of these early settlements, had concurred in the statement that the northern shore of Albemarle Sound was first settled by Quakers, Baptists, and other religious refugees, fleeing from the intolerance of the Church in Virginia (and to a less extent in Maryland), and of the Calvinistic establishments in New England. So long, so con-

fidently, and with such unanimity had this story been repeated from one to another, that it did not seem to occur to any one that original authorities and sources of information should be examined, and their testimony given some consideration. Our own Dr. Hawks, himself a North Carolinian, and a lawyer of eminence before he took Holy Orders, accepted the current account with implicit confidence; and misread and misinterpreted the original authorities which he examined, and forced them, contrary to their plain meaning, into agreement with the common view. I believe I can justly claim to have been the first who called attention, in a modest, but I think not an ineffective, way to the inaccuracy of this generally received account; and any intelligent student, who will look at the evidence with unprejudiced eyes, will see that there is absolutely no contemporary, or other reliable, testimony to support it.

If I may be pardoned a personal reminiscence, I will dwell for a moment on this point. The ten great volumes of "North Carolina Colonial Records" were published during the years 1886-1890, under the editorial supervision, and chiefly through the unwearied labors, of the late Col. William L. Saunders, for many years Secretary of State in North Carolina, a dear friend and family connection of my own. Knowing that I had made some investigations into the early history of the State, especially in ecclesiastical matters, Col. Saunders desired me to assist him in his important enterprise, by obtaining copies of every document I could discover relating to the history of the Church in North Carolina during the Colonial period. During the session of the General Convention of 1883 in Philadelphia I came to this city, by appointment with Bishop Perry, of Iowa, to endeavor to secure copies of many important documents in his custody as Historiographer of the General Convention. Col. Saunders asked me to see if the records of the old Pennsylvania Quakers could throw any light upon the emigration of the persecuted Quakers from New England and Virginia in the first settlements of the Albemarle section.

Being in the Library of the Historical Society of Penn-

sylvania, I procured a copy of Bowden's "History of the Friends" in order to see what their general histories had to say of their early North Carolina brethren. Our local histories mention William Edmundson as the first of the Quaker travelling preachers who visited them in their new home, to help them in organizing and extending their work. The settlements had begun in 1662; the first Governor had been appointed in 1663. It was not until 1672 that William Edmundson came to visit and to comfort his brethren, and by this time there were a good many inhabitants of the new Province of Carolina. Bowden's account of Edmundson's visit is taken from Edmundson's Journal, which our historian Martin had apparently seen, but which he does not quote. What was my surprise to read in Edmundson's own words that on the occasion of this visit to the Albemarle section he found only *one family of Friends*, and they wept at the sight of him *not having seen the face of a Friend for seven years*—that is, not since they had left New England in 1665.

The surprise of the good Quaker, Henry Phillips, and his family, when on the Sunday morning in the spring of 1672, William Edmundson appeared among them, could hardly have been more complete than that which I experienced, when, in that one sentence, and in its unavoidable implications, I saw the whole story of the first settlement of that region, repeated for a century from one historian to another and never once called in question, absolutely discredited and disproved. I read it again and again. I turned to other parts of the narrative. There it stood, plain, positive, unmistakable. William Edmundson had made a long and painful journey through swamps and forests, to see his Carolina brethren. He found hearers at his several services, and made some converts among the inhabitants, but he found only one family of Friends; and they had removed from New England to Carolina in 1665, and had not seen the face of a Friend (i. e. a Quaker) in all their seven years' residence in Albemarle!

I had no time during my brief stay in Philadelphia to pursue the investigation, but upon my return home I took it

up. I examined every General and every Local History which contained the statement that our first settlers were Quakers, Baptists, and others fleeing from religious persecution or intolerance. I made *memoranda* of all authorities quoted as supporting or illustrating this statement. I procured all these authorities. Especially I read carefully the Journal of William Edmundson, and also the Journal of George Fox, who followed Edmundson about six months later, and who gives a detailed account of his experiences. I examined every reference having any bearing on the question. All accounts agreed; all the evidence looked one way. I cannot here give the details, I can only say that I found not one single fact or statement by any contemporary authority, or, so far as I can recall, by any authority anterior to the Revolution of 1776, to sustain the theory that the early settlers of the Albemarle section were religious refugees, or that religious intolerance, in Virginia or elsewhere, played any appreciable part in the settlement, or that any considerable number of the first settlers were Quakers, Baptists, or Dissenters of any kind, when they first came into the Province. Quakerism was introduced by Edmundson and Fox, and its simple methods of organization and worship, being suited to the scattered settlements and their unorganized social condition, and having no rival worship, it soon drew to itself many of the best elements of the population in Perquimans and Pasquotank, two of the precincts of Albemarle County; and the frequent visits of itinerant Quaker preachers strengthened and extended their influence. But the people had originally come into the country simply as pioneers of civilization, seeking new homes where land was unoccupied and cheap. There seem to have been no Dissenters in the Albemarle Colony, except Quakers, until well on into the eighteenth century. And the Quakers were almost wholly confined to the two precincts above mentioned. The population of the other precincts seem to have retained a degree of traditional attachment to the Church of England. And there was never a time in our Colonial history when the Church did not command

the support of a majority of the people of the Province, when any measure in its favor was brought before them.

The results of my investigation I embodied in a series of three communications to our local Church paper, which, reprinted in a small pamphlet, I sent to my friend, Col. Saunders, then preparing for the press the first volume of the North Carolina Colonial Records, with his extended prefatory essay upon the beginnings of our Colonial history. I was anxious that he should have his attention called to the point which I felt needed to be corrected. His reply to my request for his judgment upon my contention as to the religious character of our first settlers, was expressed in these words: "In my judgment you have not only proved your point, *you have demonstrated it.*" And in his Introduction to the first volume of Records, above mentioned, he took the same position.

It was then at this period, and in this condition of society, inchoate and practically unorganized, that the Lords Proprietors and the Philosopher Locke put their hands to the task of providing their Grand Model of Government.

The Fundamental Constitutions.

Attempts to construct human Society in accordance with prearranged plans have always failed. The wisest legislation is that which sanctions and formulates methods which have been found practicable in the life and experience of the people. Civil institutions are a growth. They are the forms in which the living forces of society have found expression. Healthy and enduring constitutions only embody the results of preceding experience. When men have attempted to anticipate history, and to evolve from their own minds constitutions for governments yet to be, the statesman and the philosopher have usually distinguished themselves above the fool and the fanatic only by having achieved the more signal and disastrous failure.

A notable example of this is to be seen in The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina. These Constitutions, adopted first in 1669, and variously altered and modified from time to

time, until they were finally abandoned altogether in 1693, were drawn up by John Locke, then Secretary to the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the Lords Proprietors. John Locke became in maturer years one of the most distinguished philosophers of the age. In 1669, however, he was quite a young man, and it is difficult to believe that Shaftesbury, not to mention other eminent statesmen among the Lords Proprietors, could have left wholly to his inexperience the drawing up of Constitutions for their great Province. It is, however, impossible to determine how far their influence or authority was exerted in the matter, and this very remarkable and elaborate scheme of organization and government has always been ascribed to Locke. In its perfected form it certainly came from his hand and its provisions concerning freedom of conscience and of worship are in entire accordance with the spirit of his later works on the subject of Toleration. The paragraph on the Establishment of the Church of England in the Province is said to have been inserted by the authority of Shaftesbury and the Lords Proprietors, and to have been contrary to Lockes wishes. In some copies this section is *bracketed*, as indicating some distinction between this and the rest of the document. But it must be admitted that both the Charters required that the ecclesiastical institutions of the Province should be in accordance with the ecclesiastical laws of England, and in this matter, therefore the Proprietors had no choice or discretion allowed them.

Of the one hundred and twenty Articles of The Fundamental Constitutions sixteen relate to religion, namely, the ninety-fifth, and those following to the one hundred and tenth, inclusive. The ninety-fifth Article requires as a condition of Citizenship the belief in God, and that God is to be publicly and solemnly worshipped.

The ninety-sixth Article requires the establishment of the Church of England, as "the only true and orthodox religion of all the King's dominions" and "so also of Carolina, and therefore alone * * * allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of Parliament".

The ninety-seventh Article deserves to be given in full: "But since the natives of that place who will be concerned in our plantation, are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorances, or mistake, gives us no right to expell or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out: that Civil peace may be obtained amidst diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and a great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, Heathen, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all the convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the Gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any seven or more persons, agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a Church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others."

The ninety-eighth Article requires that the terms of admittance, etc., of each such Church, subscribed by all its members, shall be kept by the Register of the precinct.

The ninety-ninth Article relates to certain details of the ninety-eighth.

The one hundredth Article prescribes three essential principles, which must form part of the terms of membership of every Church or profession, without which it may not be recognized:

1. That there is a God.
2. That God is to be publicly worshipped.

3. That it is lawful for every man to bear witness, when called upon by public authority, and to attest the truth of his statements by some reasonable form of asseveration.

Articles one hundred and one to one hundred and five relate to various details, as to the admission of members, and the like.

Article one hundred and six is as follows: "No man shall use any reproachful, reviling, or abusive language against any Church or profession that being the certain way of disturbing the peace, and of hindering the conversion of any to the truth, by engaging them in quarrels and animosities, to the hatred of the professors and that profession which otherwise they might be brought to assent to."

The one hundred and seventh Article secures to slaves the right of membership in such Church or profession as they may choose, "and thereof (to) be as fully members as any freeman".

The one hundred and eighth declares that any Assemblies upon pretence of religion, not observing these rules, etc., "shall not be esteemed as Churches, but unlawful meetings, and be punished as other riots".

Article one hundred and nine is: "No persons whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion or his way of worship."

The one hundred and tenth article declares that: "Every freeman of Carolina shall have absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."

These are the only Articles relating to religion. The eighty-seventh Article had declared that no marriage should be considered lawful, whatever contract or ceremony might have been used, until both parties had mutually owned it before the local Register, and it had been by him recorded, with the names of the parties and of their parents.

It may be mentioned, as having some bearing on the subject of religion, that in the "Rules of Precedency" accompanying the Fundamental Constitutions, no place is assigned to any ecclesiastical person or order.

These provisions concerning religion and freedom of conscience embody the same principles which Locke maintained in all his writings. He consistently denied political privileges, and even a civil *status*, to Atheists, though he thought that the most ignorant savage should be treated with tenderness and consideration, in order that he might be won to the truth. He had little patience with those who would disturb the peace and unity of the Church upon differences in speculative opinions; and while, in common with almost all men of that age, he looked upon an established Church as necessary in a Christian Country, yet he would have had the Church include a very wide diversity of opinion, requiring uniformity only in the fundamental facts and doctrines, upon which there is so wide and general agreement among most Christians. Nothing could be further from his principles than intolerance of any kind. The son of a Parliamentary Soldier, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, in the time of the Commonwealth, under John Owen, the famous Calvinistic divine, he had been repelled from Calvinism by its narrow dogmatic spirit, and had *gravitated* to the Church, so to speak, attracted by its greater intellectual freedom, and probably influenced also by the preaching of Whichcote, and his intimacy with the family of Cudworth, two eminent "Broad-Churchmen" of that day. It is said that at one time he contemplated taking Orders in the Church, but was probably deterred by feeling that he might thereby be hampered in the freedom of philosophical speculation and research. Except as to atheists, whom he considered as destroying the foundations of all order, and Romanists, whom he considered in the existing political situation as being subject to a foreign allegiance, he was throughout his course the most forward champion of comprehension and toleration in Church and State. The Fundamental Constitutions have sometimes been spoken of as restricting the religious liberty granted by the Lords Proprietors under the Charters,—a very manifest error. Their provisions concerning religion may be thought arbitrary and impracticable. This, however, proceeded from no disposition to restrain freedom of belief or of wor-

ship which are most carefully secured and safe-guarded, but from a desire to reduce society to an exact order and system impossible of attainment under the actual conditions of intellectual and religious freedom, and inconsistent in fact with any healthy social life and development.

The terms imposed upon Dissenters from the Established Church would probably have been found productive of many inconveniences, even had it been possible to enforce them; but it cannot justly be said that they restricted liberty of conscience, except in their intolerance of Atheists. The three requirements of the one hundredth Article are such as all Christians, and indeed all heathen religions, have held to be true and necessary. Their purpose was plainly to prevent atheists from taking advantage of the ninety-seventh Article, by organizing themselves as a "Church or Profession", and so gaining a legal *status*, and claiming those political privileges from which it was intended to exclude them. The one hundred and fourth Article might at first sight be deemed an interference with the right of each religious society to decide upon the qualifications of its own members, or to maintain any effective spiritual discipline. It was probably not so intended, nor would such necessarily be its effect. The one hundred and first Article required every person to be a member of some "Church or Profession" as a condition of enjoying the privileges of Citizenship; therefore Article one hundred and four prescribes how any person may become a member of some "Church or profession" as a condition of his citizenship. It would, however, satisfy both the spirit and the letter of the law, that the subscription allowed in Article one hundred and four should make the subscriber a member for the purposes of the law as to citizenship and its privileges, while his spiritual privileges and standing might remain subject to the proper rules and internal regulations of the society with which he had thus identified himself. And in any case that society had a summary remedy in the provisions of Article one hundred and five, which allows any society by its free act to rid itself of an undesirable member.

Article one hundred and seven, though breathing a benevolent spirit, may to us seem superfluous, in securing to slaves the right to become members of such "Church or profession" as they might prefer. To the discredit of our ancestors we have to acknowledge that this merciful provision was not wholly unnecessary. The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, when many years later they began their labors in the Colonies, found that one of the hindrances to be reckoned with, in their work among the negro slaves of America, was a fear on the part of their owners that if they should allow their slaves to be baptized, they would thereby become entitled to their freedom. To meet this difficulty the Assembly of Virginia found it necessary to pass a law similar to this provision of the Fundamental Constitutions.

Blackstone (I, 425) alludes to "the infamous and unchristian practice of withholding baptism from negro servants, lest they should thereby gain their liberty", and says that such a practice is "totally without foundation and without excuse". But Chitty, in a note on this place, says that the English Court of Common Pleas, as late as 5 William and Mary, held that a man might have property in a negro boy and maintain an action of *Trover* for him, "*because negroes are heathens*".

The spirit of Christianity has always been hostile to the practice of slavery; and the mediaeval ecclesiastics employed many devices to encourage the manumission of slaves. The theory that Baptism freed the slave was probably one of their pious inventions; and certainly the sentiment underlying this theory does appeal very strongly to a Christian heart. And in the case of the Colonial slave-owners, their knowledge that English lawyers had justified negro slavery upon the ground that negroes were heathens, might not unnaturally or illogically create such a belief. If he could be held as a slave *because he was a heathen*, then ceasing to be a heathen, he might naturally be supposed to cease to be a slave: "*Cessante ratione cessat etiam lex.*" Though this fear of losing their slaves, if they should allow them to be baptized, did show itself among

the earlier settlers of America, it played no important part even in those times, and soon disappeared.

However impracticable the provisions of the Fundamental Constitutions in regard to religion may seem to us, they are yet very far in advance of the spirit of the seventeenth century in general benevolence and in solicitude for freedom of conscience and of worship, even for the ignorant savages of America, as well as for Jews, and other dissenters from the truth of Christianity. We have hardly realized in feeling and practice, even in this twentieth century, the wise words spoken by the Lords Proprietors to their colonists, though not illustrated in the lives and policies of the noble propounders. We need still to be reminded that we can only teach effectually to others the truths we have learned ourselves, "by peaceableness and inoffensiveness, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness, suitable to the rules and design of the Gospel".

It is a fact of greater significance, I think, than may at first appear, that in the "Rules of Precedency" accompanying the Fundamental Constitutions, no place of precedence or of dignity is assigned to any ecclesiastical office or person. Provision is made for the support of the Church, but the public honor and recognition awarded to the Clergy are left to the voluntary action of the people. This may not unreasonably be understood as intended to emphasize the spiritual character of their office and work. It seems to me one of the wisest and most sagacious features of the whole design, and one calculated to have been of most important service to the Church. There can, I think, be no question, that the very strongest ground of objection made in the American Colonies to the introduction of Bishops from England, was a dislike of the *secular* jurisdiction, prerogatives, and dignities, which had unfortunately gathered around the Bishops in England, to the obscuration of their spiritual character and to the very great hindrance of their real Episcopal function. From this point of view it was not wholly a misfortune that Bishops were not established in the Colonies before the Revolution of 1776.

This single feature, in the effort to introduce the Fundamental Constitutions, and thereby establish the Church in Carolina—that there was to be no place of secular state or precedence assigned to the Clergy of the Church, seems to me a point to be noted, as one of the few evidences of real wisdom in the details of these wonderful schemes. It was an anticipation of the true spirit of Christianity as developed in this new world, where its work has been done without those adventitious aids of state connections and political patronage, which in the other countries of Europe had come to make so great a show in the external life and work of the Church.

This "Grand Model" obtained a partial and limited acceptance in the Southern part of the Province, where the more populous and prosperous settlements about Charleston afforded more opportunity of experimenting. It was never enforced in Albemarle. In the instructions of the Proprietors these Constitutions are referred to from time to time as a model to which the infant community must be gradually assimilated, and to which the people must be taught to adjust themselves; but no effort was made to compel any such adjustments. As time went on it became increasingly evident that it would not be possible to run the seemingly plastic life of the new nation into that mould. That life was slowly but surely shaping out forms for the expression of its own ideals and aspirations. It was never possible to find any point of contact between the crude institutions of the frontier colony and the elaborate scheme of the young philosopher and his noble patrons. Gradually it came to be seen by all that there could be no point of contact between the two. The law was in fact a dead letter. The Fundamental Constitutions were repealed before the end of the century. Chalmers quotes from the proceedings of the Lords Proprietors under date of April, 1693, "That as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the Charters, without regard to the Fundamental Constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request".

BEGINNINGS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN GEORGIA.

By Edgar Legare Pennington. 1891-

By the 3rd of October, 1732, 114 individuals (men, women and children) had been enrolled for the first embarkation to Georgia.¹ Care had been exerted that only fit persons should be selected for colonization; preference was given to those well recommended by ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of the parishes. A committee was appointed to visit the prisons and examine the applicants confined there, so as to ascertain their merits; and compromises were effected with their creditors and consent procured for their discharge. The benevolent character of the venture appealed to the religious folk; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops, the archdeacons, the deans, the chapters, the collegiate and parochial clergy, all gave liberally to the enterprise.

The first ship carried 115 Bibles and Testaments, 116 Prayer Books, 72 Psalters, 312 Catechisms, 56 copies of Bishop Gibson's *Family Devotions*, and 437 other religious volumes. During the first two years, over twenty-six hundred Bibles, Testaments, and religious books, and about £1,000 in contributions for building a Church and supporting a missionary gave evidence of the interest felt in the spiritual welfare of the colonists.² The Trustees were themselves solicitous for the religious well-being. When they met, December 28th, it was expressly desired that General Oglethorpe "would as soon as conveniently he could lay out the site of a minister's house, and prepare materials for building the same with a Church"; and lay out a glebe of three hundred acres for the minister's support.

The "Anne", a galley of two hundred tons, was chartered to convey the colonists to Georgia. The vessel set sail November 17th, 1732. There were 130 on board; and thirty

¹Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 367.

²Stevens: *History of Georgia*, I, 320.

families were represented.³ Among the passengers was the Reverend Henry Herbert, who had volunteered to perform all religious services. Mr. Herbert was the son of the late Lord Herbert of Cherbury.⁴

The ship arrived at Charles Town, South Carolina, the 13th of January. After Oglethorpe had paid his respects to Governor Robert Johnson, the ship sailed for Port Royal harbor. There the colonists were conveyed in a small craft to Beaufort, where they landed and refreshed themselves after their tedious voyage. The General proceeded to the Savannah River, to choose a site for the new settlement. He returned to his group on the 24th of January.

The following Sunday was celebrated as a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival. The Reverend Lewis Jones, rector of St. Helena's Parish (Beaufort), preached to the colonists.⁵

Near the site chosen for the town was an Indian village, peopled by the Yamacraws, whose Mico was Tomo-chi-chi. Through the intervention of Mary Musgrove, a half-breed and the wife of a Carolina trader, the natives were persuaded of the friendly intentions of the English. Consequently, the land was obtained. On the 30th of January, the colonists were conveyed to Yamacraw Bluff, which they reached in safety the second day afterwards, when they passed their first night on Georgia soil.

After the colonists' goods were unloaded, the town of Savannah was planned. The squares, lots, and streets were laid out by Oglethorpe, with the assistance of Colonel William Bull of South Carolina. Lots and farms were allotted to inhabitants, and later confirmed by deed.⁶ Forthwith the building of the town proceeded. Nor was the Church forgotten. The present site of Christ Church was chosen when Oglethorpe planned the town. At first, worship was held in the General's tent, also in the open air; later the courthouse was used.

³Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 367.

⁴Lord Perceval's Diary, Nov. 1, 1732.

⁵A Brief Account of the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia, under General Oglethorpe (1733).

⁶Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 372.

The Reverend Henry Herbert did not remain more than three months. A fever brought him back to Charles Town, where he stayed till he was pretty well recovered. Then he left for England. The Reverend Alexander Garden of Charles Town spoke of him as "much more afraid than hurted"; and added: "The Doct^r's Intentions, I believe were very good; but neither did his Constituⁿ nor Conduct prove so fit as cou'd be wish'd for Propagating the Gospel in foreign Parts."⁷ When Commissary Garden wrote the letter we have quoted (July 24th), he did not know that Mr. Herbert had already died, on his way home, and must have been in bad health when he left America.

The Trustees in England realized their inability to provide for a clergyman without financial assistance. They therefore turned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the S. P. G.), which had already proved its generosity. On the 17th of January, 1733, before the first colonists had landed, the Trustees memorialized the Society, saying that it would be some years before the three hundred acre glebe allotted for the minister would produce a sufficient maintenance. Help was needed. The Reverend Samuel Quincy, in England at the time, had been chosen for Georgia; and the Trustees hoped that the Society would make the same provision for him as for the missionaries established in the other colonies, till the glebe could prove adequate for his support.⁸ The petition was granted. Quincy embarked in time to reach Savannah in May, 1733.⁹

The Reverend William Guy, missionary at St. Andrew's Parish, South Carolina, wrote the S. P. G., May 14th, 1733, that "his Parishioners are so zealous in promoting any good Work, that notwithstanding the Charge they have been at in enlarging the Church (£3,500—South Carolina money) they have lately subscribed above five hundred Pounds that Currency

⁷Fulham MSS., S. C., No. 36. Stevens & Brown L. C. Trans.

⁸200 Years of the S. P. G., 26.

⁹Stevens: *History of Georgia*, I, 321.

towards carrying on the settlement of the New Colony of Georgia."¹⁰

Prior to Quincy's arrival, the Reverend Lewis Jones visited the colonists, making the trip from St. Helena's Parish, Beaufort. In a letter to the S. P. G., December 8th, 1733, he described Oglethorpe as "indefatigable in settling" the new colony, and he commended him for seeking on all occasions to cultivate an amicable correspondence with the Indians, some of whom "shew a willingness to be instructed in the Principles of Christianity".¹¹ Along this line, Doctor Charles C. Jones has remarked that "in nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and treatment of the Indians".¹²

Samuel Quincy was a native of Boston, and was educated at Harvard. For several years he had served as an Independent pastor; but he conformed to the Church of England, and in 1730 he was ordained deacon and priest. Lord Perceval described him as "a young man of modest appearance". The Reverend Thomas Page, in recommending him for the appointment, said:

"Meekness, Humility and Contentedness, bear a distinguishable part of his character. He is Sober, and Inoffensive, in his Life and Conversation."¹³

The Trustees authorized the glebe to be enclosed and appropriated money for the same.¹⁴

The progress of the colony was slow. General Oglethorpe was compelled to absent himself a great deal of the time, because his presence was required in fortifying the southern part of Georgia. The Spaniards were jealous of the new colony; and the English felt that their frontier must be secured without delay. The letters of those early days give a picture of

¹⁰S. P. G. Abstract, 1734, p. 41.

¹¹S. P. G. Journal, 17 May, 1734.

¹²Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 370.

¹³S. P. G. A-24, p. 75.

¹⁴P. R. O., C. O. 5/666. Ga.

confusion, demoralization, idleness, and drunkenness. On the 3rd of March, 1735, Mr. Quincy wrote a letter which gives us an insight into the turbulent conditions then.

"We had on Sunday last an Affair that threw us into great Confusion. Vander-plank and some other of the Officers were called out of the Church and made acquainted that there were 40, or 50 White Persons, and as many Indians wth Musgrove at the Head of 'em, that were entered into a Design to burn the Town and destroy the People, at least some of them."¹⁵

A spirit of inertia seemed to prevail. The Trustees wrote to the bailiffs and the recorder of Savannah, May 15th, 1735, expressing surprise that not over forty-four acres in the town were cultivated. They added that they "have it at heart to provide a convenient Place for all the Inhabitants for Divine Worship, and will in due time send proper Directions for that Work, which they design should be very plain". They asked also for an estimate of "the charge of building a Brick or Timber Church 60 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 20 feet high within".¹⁶ Various gifts of plate, tracts, and other essentials for the Church at Savannah were sent from time to time.

Mr. Quincy found his work very difficult. He complained of bad health and hot weather. The magistrate left in charge was evidently a thorn in the flesh, and he described him as "a most insolent and tyrannical fellow".¹⁷ Besides, the attitude of the parishioners was so lethargic as to destroy such enthusiasm as he may have felt at the start. The inhabitants lacked interest in his efforts. "Religion seems to be the least minded of anything in the place," he declared. Notwithstanding all the discouragements, he tried to make an impression on the village. His clerk, "a sober young man", was directed to get a group of young men to meet every Sunday night. Some

¹⁵P. R. O., C. O., Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/637.

¹⁶P. R. O., C. O. 5/666. Ga.

¹⁷Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series II, Vol. 2, 188.

seven or eight responded; and they read together the epistles and gospels for the days, and commented upon them.¹⁸

So far as the glebe was concerned, Quincy declared that it was chosen from the worst of pine-barren land. Dissatisfied, work was discontinued on it until the Trustees could direct where the glebe would be laid out.

There were about twenty regular hearers in Mr. Quincy's congregation, and from forty to fifty occasional visitors. The people excused themselves from faithful attendance on the ground that they had no convenient place of worship. The present place would not contain more than a hundred, they said. Sometimes the communicants numbered five or six; at Easter, there were fourteen to receive the sacrament. Mr. Quincy reported, July 28th, 1735, that since coming to the colony (some twenty-six months in all), he had held 36 christenings, 156 burials, and 38 marriages.¹⁹ The large number of funerals shows that the unhealthy conditions, so frequently alluded to in the Georgia colonial correspondence, were not exaggerated.

On the 28th of August, 1735, the tired missionary gave notice of his intention to leave the colony. He was worn out and discouraged. A letter to his kinsman, the Honourable Edmund Quincy, reveals his state of mind:

"Georgia, which was seemingly intended to be the asylum of the distressed, unless things are greatly altered, is likely to be itself a mere scene of distress. * * * Notwithstanding the place has been settled nigh three years, I believe I may venture to say there is not one family, which can subsist without farther assistance, and most would starve if they had not dependence on the trustees."²⁰

That Quincy was a man of fine qualities and irreproachable morals was attested by the readiness with which Commissary Alexander Garden of Charles Town—a very exacting man—

¹⁸P. R. O., C. O., Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/637.

¹⁹P. R. O., C. O. Original Correspondence, Board of Trade, 5/636.

²⁰Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Series II, Vol. 2, 188-189.

accepted his services and gave him missionary work in South Carolina. General Oglethorpe had enquiries made at Savannah regarding Quincy's conduct, and learned that his carriage was "more than inoffensive". John Wesley added his testimonial, as follows:

"All I have spoke to, inform me, That they judge him to be a good natured, friendly, peaceful sober just man, and that they have no Complaint against him either relating to his private Life or to the Execution of his Office as a Clergyman, except his absence from them (in New England I apprehend) which they believe was chiefly owing to his ill state of health."²¹

Besides being a new opportunity for debtors, Georgia was destined to become a haven for religious refugees. In this work, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (the S. P. C. K.), though an Anglican organization, displayed real catholicity of outlook. For many years, certain German Protestants, belonging to the Archbishopric of Salzburg, then the most eastern district of Bavaria, had been threatened with persecution. In 1729, Leopold, Count of Firmian and Archbishop of Salzburg, began his efforts to reduce them to the papal power. As a result, by 1732 nearly thirty thousand had been driven from their homes to seek other lands.

In March, 1731, subscriptions were started by the S. P. C. K. to aid the Salzburg exiles.²² By November, 1733, the sum of £4877/15s./3d. had been received for that purpose.²³ The S. P. C. K., anxious to carry out the relief measures to the fullest, asked the Trustees of the Georgia colony to include the Salzburgers in their plans. The House of Commons, in March, 1733, appropriated £10,000 to the Trustees for carrying the refugees over and settling them. There were

²¹*Georgia Colonial Records*, XXI, 216-217.

²²200 Years, S. P. C. K., 125-126.

²³*Ibid.*

private donations for the same purpose; and the S. P. C. K. published books to further the cause.²⁴

Through the efforts of the S. P. C. K., four transports, containing more than two hundred Protestant emigrants, mostly Salzburgers, were sent to Georgia. They settled with their ministers and school-master at Ebenezer, on land assigned by the Trustees of the colony. The expense of the undertaking fell very heavily on the Society, as we read in the official *Account* of 1743:

"The great Expence of these Transports, and the many extraordinary Charges that have been necessary for the Support and Encouragement of this Infant Settlement; together with 100 l. a Year as a Salary for their Two Missionaries and Schoolmaster, have so far reduced the Charities belonging to this Branch of the Society's Desigus, that they have nothing left now to answer any future Wants and Contingencies; excepting 2500 l. New South Sea Annuities, which have been purchased as a standing Fund for paying the aforesaid Annual Salary to the Missionaries and Schoolmaster, till some certain and settled Provision can be made for them in *Georgia*."²⁵

The Salzburgers received a cordial welcome in Georgia. Their piety, which was very beautiful, is portrayed in the journal of Baron von Reck and Mr. Bolzius; and their influence must have been very wholesome.

The Wesley family will always be associated by the historian with the early days of Georgia. The Reverend Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth Parish, a man of versatile interests, had been keenly concerned with the work of the parliamentary Committee on Gaols; besides, he had been an active propagandist in favour of the Georgia colony. He had presented a communion service to the Church at Savannah; and

²⁴An Account of the Sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg (1732); Extract of the Journal of M. Von Reck * * * (1734).

²⁵Account of S. P. C. K. (1743), 8-9.

had even written verse in order to give vent to his enthusiasm for the project. When Samuel Quincy resigned the Georgia field, the Reverend John Wesley, one of the sons of Samuel, was appointed missionary in his place. John Wesley and his brother, Charles, also in Church of England, orders left Gravesend, the 14th of October, 1735, and started on the long and tiresome journey to the colony. General Oglethorpe, who had visited England, was returning on the same vessel. There were two close friends of the Wesleys on the ship—the Reverend Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte. Twenty-five Moravians from Germany likewise bound for Georgia, were also aboard; and their deep fervour and calmness greatly affected the Wesleys, and much of the time on the trip was devoted to religious exercises.²⁶

The 15th of February, 1736, they all arrived at the Georgia coast. Next day, Oglethorpe went up to Savannah.²⁷ From that time on, the General was so occupied with the task of protecting the southern borders of the colony, establishing frontier towns, and erecting fortresses, that he had little opportunity to give direction to the Savannah colonies. A few days after landing, he journeyed to St. Simon's Island, about a hundred miles south; the island was a strategic point of defense, in case of invasion by the Spaniards. By March 23rd, the town of Frederica was laid out, on a bold bluff on the west side of the island; it was designed as the military centre, to break the shock of hostile attacks. A battery of cannon commanding the river was mounted; the fort was almost completed; ditches were dug; a rampart was raised and covered with sod. Land lots were also assigned. As Savannah was to constitute the commercial metropolis of the colony, Frederica was to be the military outpost and southern defence. The latter soon became the headquarters of Oglethorpe's regiment and the strong rallying point for British colonization in the direction of Florida.²⁸

²⁶Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 397.

²⁷Georgia Colonial Records, XXI, 12.

²⁸Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, V, 377-380.

We now return to the clergymen who accompanied Oglethorpe. While still students at Oxford, the Wesleys and their friends had been members of a small group of men, whose meticulous adherence to certain devotional practices had earned them the name of "Methodists". From 1729, every morning and evening it had been their rule to spend an hour in private prayer. They always prayed when going in and going out of Church. Three days each week, though separate from each other, they would, at an hour agreed upon, pray in concert. "They embraced every possible opportunity of doing good, and of preventing, removing, or lessening evil. They tried to spend an hour every day in speaking to men directly on religious things, never relinquishing the objects of their attention till they were positively repelled. * * * They persuaded all they could to attend public prayers, sermons, and sacraments; and, in general, to obey the laws of the Church catholic, the Church of England, the state, the University, and their respective colleges. They refrained from thinking or speaking unkindly of anyone; and used intercession for their friends on Sundays, for their pupils on Mondays, for those who particularly desired it on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the family with whom they lodged every day." Far from being non-conformists to the Church of England, they communicated at Christ Church, Oxford, once a week. "They were tenacious, not only of all the doctrines of the Church of England, but of all her discipline, to the minutest points, and were scrupulously strict in observing the rubrics and canons. In short, 'they were', says Wesley (*Wesley's Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 334, 487), 'in the strongest sense, high churchmen'."²⁹

About 1731, they began their Wednesday and Friday fasts, taking no food till three o'clock in the afternoon.³⁰ John Wesley wrote a sermon, in 1732, showing that it was the duty of all Christians to communicate as often as possible. He asserted that with "the first Christians, the Christian sacrifice was a constant part of the Lord's day service; and that, for

²⁹Tyerman: *Wesley*, I, 72-74.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 81.

several centuries, they received it almost daily; four days a week always, and every saint's day beside".³¹ He also advocated the mixed chalice in the eucharistic celebration.³²

Doctor John Burton, President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who was one of the Trustees of Georgia, advised John Wesley to visit from house to house and preach everywhere, when he arrived in Georgia, and to become all things to all men. "In every case," he urged him, to "distinguish between what is essential and what is merely circumstantial to Christianity; between what is indispensable and what is variable; between what is of Divine and what is of human authority."³³

The town which Wesley found was very different from the Savannah of the present day. It was a collection of about forty houses. On the eastern side, there was a swamp; on the west, a wood; on the south, pine forest. The principal buildings were the courthouse, which served also for the Church; a log-built prison; a storehouse; a public mill for grinding corn; and a residence for the Trustees' stewards. All the houses were of the same size.³⁴

John Wesley's stay in Georgia has been often described; and we may only review it briefly. The ardent young man entered on his work with enthusiastic zeal. Looking on it as an opportunity to reduce his ascetic principles to practice, he began with the directness of the partisan. It was his hope to catch the true Gospel himself by preaching it to the heathen. Here a disappointment was in store for him. He had dreamed of converting a savage race, but realized that he must give his whole time to the white population. There were worse disappointments and frustration in store. He learned that the Indians were not prepared to listen to the truth; and the temper of the settlers was far from his expectations.

None the less, he addressed himself to his task. Before he had been in Savannah three weeks, he had established daily

³¹*Ibid.*, 81-82.

³²*Ibid.*, 94-95.

³³*Ibid.*, 109-110.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 123.

morning and evening prayer and a weekly communion; he had formed a society which met on Wednesday, Friday, and Sunday nights to read, pray, and sing hymns. Mr. Delamotte began to teach a few orphan children.³⁵ His school numbered from thirty to forty; and he taught the children to read, write, and cast accounts. Before the public worship on Sunday afternoon, he would catechise the lower class, and he would try to "fix some things of what was said by the minister in their understanding as well as their memories". In the morning, Delamotte instructed the larger children.

Wesley became more austere in his self-discipline; he seemed to be on the lookout for new methods of gaining the mastery over his nature. In his Journal, March 30th, 1736, we read:

"The next day Mr. Delamotte and I began to try, whether life might not as well be sustained by one sort as by variety of food. We chose to make the experiment with bread; and were never more vigorous and healthy than while we tasted nothing else."

Nor would the young clergyman tolerate an easy course in his parishioners. He insisted on baptism by immersion, and he refused to baptize a healthy child by pouring; rather than do so, he allowed another person to christen the infant.³⁶

Once Wesley visited Frederica, the scene of the fortifications on St. Simon's Island. While there he organized a small society similar to the one in Savannah; he also took occasion to reprove an officer of a man-of-war for swearing.³⁷ Admirable as his zeal undoubtedly was, it was not conducive to popularity. It was his desire to go to the Choctaws; but he was restrained by General Oglethorpe, who preferred to keep him in Savannah, where there was enough to hold his attention.

There are some very touching accounts of Wesley's ministrations to the sick and dying. He was without doubt a good

³⁵Ibid., 128.

³⁶Wesley: Journal, May 5, 1736.

³⁷Tyerman: *Wesley*, I, 130.

pastor. He visited his parishioners from house to house, as Doctor Burton had counselled him; and he circulated through the surrounding country on errands of mercy. Many and difficult were his trips; he learned the meaning of being lost in the woods. He took long walks, and was sometimes drenched with rain. In addition to his parochial duties, he mastered the German language, so as to render assistance to the refugees. It is remarkable that with all his activities, necessary and self-imposed, he was not remiss in keeping up his studies.

A parochial library was sent to Savannah for the Church by the Associates of Doctor Bray. It arrived in 1736; and it must have been of considerable help to the missionary.

John Wesley's indefatigable career in the colony was brought to a close by an unhappy episode, which arose from his uncompromising disposition. The niece of Thomas Causton, Chief Magistrate of the colony, was a young woman for whom the minister entertained a high regard. To his chagrin, she was married to one of the later immigrants; and Wesley, who felt she had broken faith with him, refused her the holy communion. Thereupon Mr. Causton had him indicted, on a series of charges mostly far-fetched and trivial. In spite of the impending prosecution, Wesley continued holding his services. The last Sunday he spent in Savannah, when his mind must have been distraught by the controversy, he followed out his full program, consisting of:

1. English prayers, 5 to 6:30 A. M.
2. Italian prayers, 9 A. M.
3. Sermon and Holy Communion for the English 10:30 to 12:30.
4. Service for the French, 1 P. M.
5. Catechising of children, 2 P. M.
6. Third English service, 3 P. M.
7. Meeting in his own house for reading, prayer, praise.
8. Moravian service, which he attended, 8 P. M.²⁸

²⁸*Ibid.*, 161.

(To be continued.)



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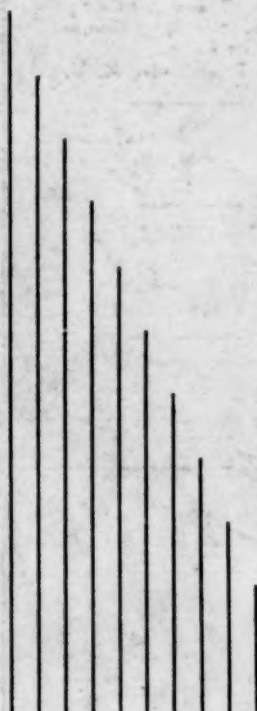
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